

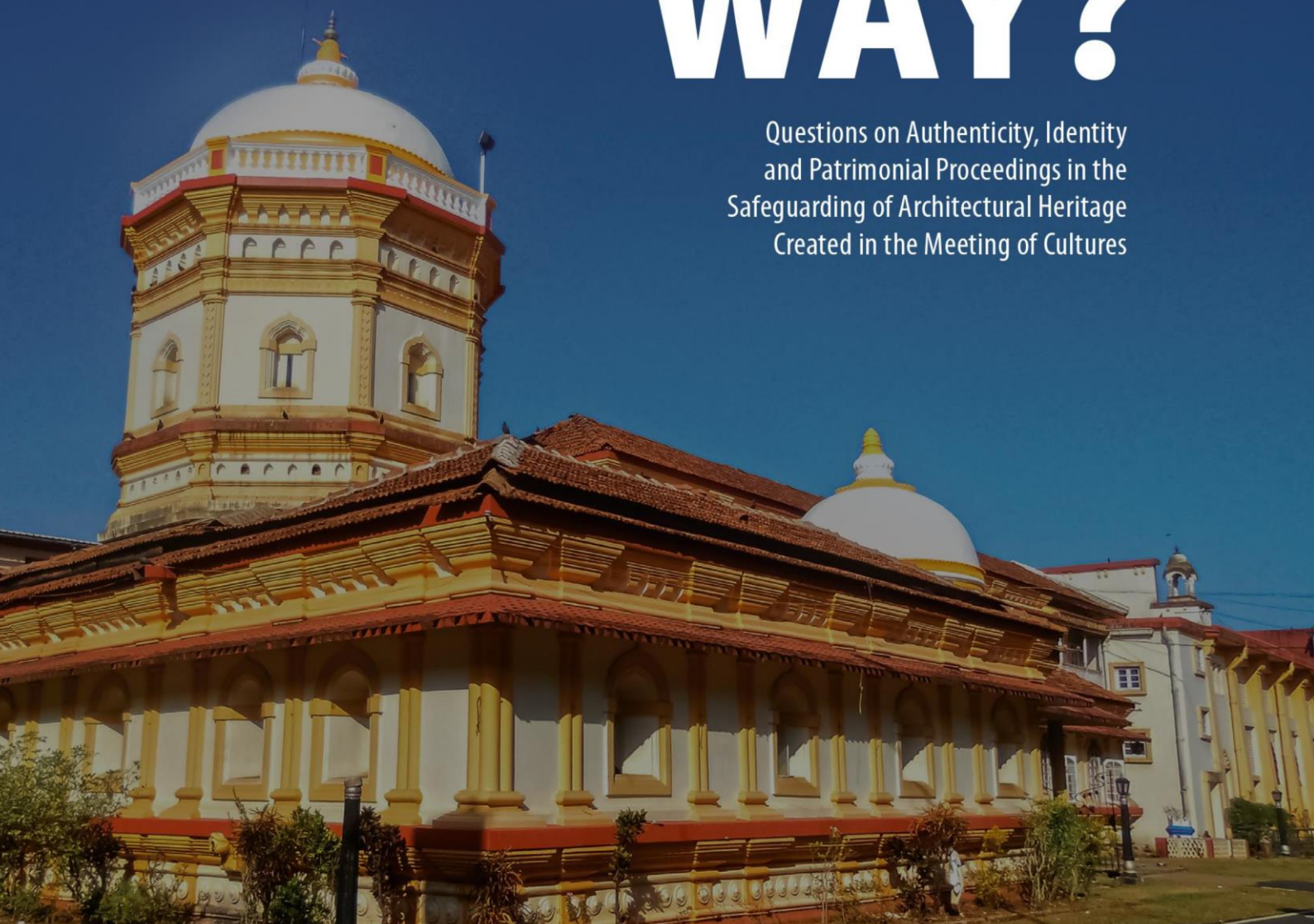
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PRESERVING TRANSCULTURAL HERITAGE:

YOUR WAY OR MY WAY?

Questions on Authenticity, Identity
and Patrimonial Proceedings in the
Safeguarding of Architectural Heritage
Created in the Meeting of Cultures



CULTURAL IDIOSYNCRASIES AND PRESERVATION CHALLENGES IN THE INDO-PORTUGUESE CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE OF GOA (INDIA)

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ABSTRACT

The Goan Catholic religious architecture is undoubtedly a unique and valuable transcultural heritage, which needs to be understood and preserved. For four and a half centuries, during the Portuguese administration, this heritage was conserved following Western premises, moderated by the local influences. With the integration of Goa into India, the preservation became under the Indian cultural influence, and this fact has brought some changes. Therefore, issues and idiosyncrasies concerning transculturality, the meaning of heritage and authenticity among different cultures (in this case, Portuguese culture and Indian cultures) will be discussed, including the debate on the heritage preservation in Goa.

KEYWORDS

Goa; Indo-Portuguese architecture; Catholic churches; Heritage Preservation

Initial notes

Goa is an Indian state that was under Portuguese rule from 1510 until 1961. The initial territory under Portuguese control was small, but new lands came under Portuguese rule by the second half of the 18th century, thus tripling the Goan territory. The initial territories, conquered in the 16th century were called *Velhas Conquistas* (Old Conquests) and the new ones *Novas Conquistas* (New Conquests). The Old Conquests territory is composed of islands between the Mandovi River and Zuari River (including the Tiswadi Island, where Old Goa and Panjim are located), by the northern *taluka* of Bardez and the southern *taluka* of Salcette. By being under Portuguese rule for about 450 years, the Old Conquests is a territory more densely Catholic and “Lusitanised”, and visible within this landscape are small (and larger) parish Catholic churches, Catholic families’ houses and a fortified system for the protection of this territory. This heritage still survives in a wide range of buildings, although constantly threatened due to several reasons.

However, in recent years there have been some drastic changes in the small territory of Goa, which have had an effect on the safeguarding of the Goan built heritage. If, on the one hand, much has been said about the on-going destruction of the architectural heritage in Goa, on the other hand an interest on the part of some Goan sectors for their cultural heritage has emerged, which is increasingly displayed in debates on heritage, measures developed in favour of heritage, civic activism and even heritage conservation actions².

The present work is part of a pluridisciplinary investigation in progress, dedicated to the safeguarding of Indian heritage with Portuguese influence; the topic addressed herein was mainly based on field research, with a particular emphasis on the analysis of the condition of several Catholic buildings of Portuguese influence in Goa, but it is also the result of a set of interviews and of the direct interaction with representative members of the local community (religious leaders, technicians, political leaders, experts, activists and members of the Catholic communities). Therefore, it must be clear that many assumptions exposed here were reached through inputs resulting from direct interactions with local people³.

Issues regarding the safeguarding of the Catholic heritage with Portuguese influence in Goa

Goan culture is essentially a transcultural product, the result of intense exchanges that occurred between various peoples and cultures over the centuries: if the Portuguese presence of 450 years undoubtedly marked the cultural matrix of Goa, in combination with the indigenous cultures, the fact that this territory was a privileged trading post throughout its history brought influences from many other cultures. Catholic architecture is very likely the built heritage that has the greatest affinity with Portuguese culture, although tempered by the local culture. This heritage has been the object of several interventions that have both contributed to enhance and to undermine or even destroy its value. Several issues associated with this will be briefly addressed below.

Post-colonialism and the divides in the Goan society

Goa is the Indian territory with the greatest connection to Portugal; it is nevertheless ironic that Goa is the region that harbours the most intense anti-Portuguese sentiment, contrary to what might be expected – although these anticolonial sentiments are found in just a section of the population. And this is for a number of reasons, some of them mentioned ahead. This lusophobia that prevails in some strata of the Goan society partly explains some of the actions that have had negative effects on the Portuguese-influenced Goan Catholic heritage.

First of all it is important to mention the feelings of many of those who fought against Portuguese rule and for integration with India – some of them were freedom fighters – against everything (or almost everything) that is associated with Portugal, because of the direct connection with the colonialism against which they fought. In many cases, these feelings are based not only on what was the Portuguese colonial presence but also on a misrepresentation of history, either for Indian nationalist purposes or as a result of ignorance or naivety regarding the actual historical facts⁴. All of this naturally impacts on the Catholic erected heritage in Goa, which is seen by some sectors as a reminder of the colonial period. Anti-Portuguese resentment is still somehow present amongst some elements of the highest Hindu varnas (Brahmins and Kshatriyas): as a whole, and although their importance was not diminished during the Portuguese period for the most, after the Independence of India many became – or used to claim that became – freedom fighters and defended the integration of Goa into India. With the majority being of the Hindu faith in a casteist country, the integration would allow their Hindu varna to continue on the top of the hierarchy⁵. These issues are still felt today and, therefore, everything that exhibits Portuguese influences that remind a “past of supposed belittlement”, during the Portuguese colonial period, is considered not worth of being preserved.

To make the situation worse, the Catholic Brahmin and Chardo varnas, which during the Portuguese period were belonging to the Goan elites (together with the few Portuguese leaders and public servants, as well as the Hindu Brahmins), in some aspects lost part of this privileged status; some of them saw themselves relegated to secondary positions amidst the Goan society after the integration of Goa into India. A few feel like second-class citizens and somewhat like foreigners in their own country; they still speak Portuguese at home and amongst themselves and have many typically Portuguese traditions and strong affinities with Portugal. This somehow interferes with their lives, because they do not feel completely integrated in the post-colonial Goan society that emerged after the incorporation into India. A small part of this social stratum even distances itself from the remaining Goan Hindu (and Indian) community. A small group of members of the Catholic community of the highest varnas turn in on themselves: they feel different from the rest and deeply wronged by the new situation in which they found themselves after the incorporation into India⁶. This state of affairs ultimately causes resentment in the Hindu population and leaders, who fuel disputes between both communities, with the Catholics usually not benefiting from the situation. As a consequence, the Goan Catholic heritage is ultimately affected.

To further complicate the situation, some Hindu conservative nationalist politicians from the Indian Brahmin elite are often accused of wanting to turn India into a purely Hindu country that follows Brahmin values but that also maintains and fosters the system of servitude promoted by the varnas⁷. This nationalist remake of history leads to its misinterpretation; Goa might eventually suffer with this problem if, by any chance, a will to eliminate the Portuguese historical layer of this territory start to arise – if not deliberate, then at least passive and not expressed. This would probably include the devout Catholics and everything related to them,

for their connection to Portugal and to colonialism, either through emigration or reconversion to Hinduism. If this happens, the repercussions for the Indo-Portuguese architectural heritage will be calamitous, not only in Goa but also in other territories.

The tense relationships between the Catholic Church and the Archaeological Survey of India

The statute of the built heritage of Goa is *sui generis*, compared to that of the rest of India, and causes friction between the Church and the state authorities. This is because of the Portuguese heritage laws that were in force until 1961, the year Goa was incorporated into India. Usually, only “dead monuments” – or, better said, buildings that lost their functional purpose and became just monuments – are classified as heritage in India, and the owners have to give their consent for a “living monument” to be classified as such; once it has been classified, a monument cannot be the object of an intervention without the authorization of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), a public entity with responsibilities in the field of built heritage. But in the old Portuguese territories of Goa, Daman and Diu, the Portuguese state classified as national monuments several buildings that it deemed worthy of it, very much like it did in Portugal. Some of these monuments are churches and chapels that are still used for worship.

After the incorporation of these territories into India, the ASI became responsible for these already classified monuments; however, it was not used to manage this type of “living monuments” and that reflected on the relationships established with the Catholic Church, which had the right of use of many of these churches for religious cult purposes. The Church itself does not accept the fact that its largest and most important churches in Goa are classified and that it is thereby prevented from undertaking any type of intervention without the permission from the ASI, while at the same time the major Hindu temples and Muslim mosques that are still used by their followers are not classified as heritage and, therefore, both Hindus and Muslim are free to perform any intervention they wish. In fact, only the ASI can perform interventions on the classified Goan churches, such as the Basilica of Bom Jesus and Casa Professa, the Cathedral (Sé Catedral), the Church of Saint Cajetan, the Church of Saint Francis of Assisi or the ruins of the Church of Saint Augustine, all in Old Goa. The Catholic Church feels therefore discriminated against with regard to the other religions in India, which often leads to confrontation with the ASI to make a standpoint and creates a climate of constant hostility between the two institutions, which does not favour heritage preservation.

In addition, most Catholic religious buildings in Goa that are under the responsibility of the ASI are classified as national monuments and almost all of those located in Old Goa are also classified as World Heritage Sites by UNESCO. This fact raises further problems for the conservation of this heritage because these monuments are subject to intense pressure from cultural and religious tourism. If, on one hand, tourism promotes the generation of economic gains and monument preservation, on the other hand it leads to further degradation. In addition to the maintenance costs, which are higher because of tourism, these issues are a further bone of contention between the Catholic Church and the ASI.

Functional interventions on the Catholic built heritage

If the intervention of the Catholic Church on classified monuments is strongly restrained or even prohibited, nevertheless some prominent unclassified Catholic buildings, such as the Church of the Cross of Miracles, the Chapel of Our Lady of the Mount or the Church of Saint Monica, all located in Old Goa, have been the object of significant interventions that have been preceded by controversy and intense debate. On the other hand, recent years have seen a number of interventions on Catholic parish churches and chapels, almost always under the same excuse and for the same purpose: to increase the size of the churches to allow receiving all members of the congregation, create dignified conditions and enhance them aesthetically. This includes some places where the Catholic community has been shrinking, as a result of migration⁸, and in this case the reason given for the interventions is the provision of better conditions for the congregation in the old churches. Many of these churches exhibit nuances in the use of modern surface materials, such as walls and altarpieces painted with plastic paint and floors covered with new mosaics or ceramic tiles to replace old pavements.

Cultural influences coming from other parts of India are increasingly present (most probably due also to the high migration rate to Goa from other Indian states⁹), gradually replacing some aspects of the Portuguese cultural influence. Some people believe that Indians hold spirituality more important than materiality (referring the matter), the new and the colourful are more attractive than the old and the monochromatic, and functionality is more decisive than (historic and artistic) heritage values. And, in fact, one understands why many Catholics in Goa value more issues pertaining to function than to built heritage.

During the religious celebrations in many Goan churches, one can see numerous churchgoers attending mass not inside the church itself but in structures built annexed to the main building, if not under improvised tents or even in the street. Churches bursting with people may reflect an increase in the number of worshipers (due to population growth in some areas, increase of devotion among the Catholic population, or even due to faith conversion) – although the number of people who acquire the Portuguese nationality and subsequently emigrate is surprisingly high, which has a strong impact on Goan Catholic communities.

Therefore, many of these churches face problems such as the lack of space for the congregation, ageing of the building and lack of proper habitability conditions. It seems natural that, in the face of these problems, many Goan Catholics wonder if it makes sense for people to have to attend mass in the street, under the monsoon rain, for lack of space. Or endure sweltering heat because of lack of air conditioning in the old churches. Or having to paint the churches every year after the monsoons when they could apply plastic paint only once every five years. If maintaining an old building is more expensive than building a new one, why not demolish the old building and erect a new one? All this determines the fate of many Goan Catholic churches and chapels! Many have undergone extension works that have mutilated parts of the building to add new facilities, as communities are growing and need more space to worship; others have undergone alleged enhancement and embellishment interventions such as the addition of modern infrastructures or the replacement of old materials with new ones; others are even rebuilt anew entirely; and some are being restored, which has raised an intense debate and controversy between those who want the preservation of the churches and chapels and those who defend that churches should be preserved by renovating and replacing them.

Several preservation choices had to be made: to destroy a church and build a new one; to add lateral bodies to the church in the form of new transepts; demolish a lateral wall and longitudinally extend the church in this new axial direction; extend the length of the church by

demolishing the façade or the main chapel; build concrete overhangs on the façade or on the side of the church; build a new church adjacent to the old one; or, simply keep the old church and build a new one in the vicinity. The following churches are examples of recent interventions: Our Lady of Flight in Cunchelim, Saint Andrew in Vasco da Gama, Mother of God in Majorda, Our Lady of Lourdes in Valpoi, Our Lady of Penha de França in Britona, Saint Anne in Talaulim, Saint John of the Cross in Sanquelim, The Holy Cross in Cortalim, Our Lady of Health in Sancoale, Saint Michael in Caranzalém, Saint Sebastian in Aquem, Saint Francis Xavier in Macazana and Our Lady of the Poor in Nuvem.

Distinct concepts of authenticity between Indian cultures and Western cultures

Also relevant is the case of the temples of other religions in Goa: when the Catholics look around and see Hindus and Muslims building more or less grandiose temples and mosques or enlarging, remodelling and enriching them, one can think about if they question whether they can do the same in their churches and chapels. Without going into detail, we can mention the example of the Hindu temples in Goa, which is very paradigmatic in this context. Each Hindu temple belongs to the community that built and maintained it, and through its temple trusts, this community is free to perform the interventions on the temple that it sees fit, being accountable only to its religious community (provided that there are no legal or other conditions). And, in fact, several communities have made many interventions on old temples! Secular temples have undergone new additions with new designs and materials, new structures have been built around these temples, and many of them have been enriched with more noble construction materials and with more contextualised decorative elements.

When Hindus are asked¹⁰ the reason why they do all this, they often reply with a question: wouldn't you like to have a house that was bigger, richer, more luxurious, more beautiful, better decorated, and with better conditions? The answer is yes and they reply with the assertion that their deity also likes to have a better house and that it is therefore their duty to undertake this improvement of the deity's house whenever they have the means for it! And for most Hindus, the temple whose foundations were laid centuries ago continues to be the old building that was constructed by their ancestors, even if the majority was built recently. However, the motives for the interventions on the Hindu temples are not always pious: some unique Indo-Portuguese characteristics of Goan temples were ultimately removed in favour of an ideological "Indianism", an example of politics and ideology interfering with issues of heritage, or even because of casteist questions¹¹.

Concepts of authenticity are distinct from culture to culture, and therefore need to be understood and incorporated in the debate about heritage. It is interesting to note that the Goan temples that would be the most interesting in the eyes of most of the Westerners, because they show signs of antiquity and original forms, are usually the ones that are less visited by Indian worshipers and tourists; on the other hand, those to which eccentric and multi-coloured decorative elements and structures were added and new noble materials and conspicuous extensions were applied are those that receive the most visitors¹². The following are examples of temples that had recent interventions: Temples of Shri Mangeshi in Priol, Shri Nageshi in Bandoda, Shri Vijayadurga in Keri, Shri Shantadurga in Kavlem and Shri Saptakoteshwar in Narve (the latter was restored with the support of the Fundação Oriente).

From a religious-anthropological point of view, it matters to refer that the Hindu temples do not represent the House of God as churches do to Christians; they are effectively the house where the Deity lives. Whereas a painting, a statue or a relic symbolises the representation of God, of Christ or of a Saint, to a Hindu this deified statue, painting, immaterial object or natural form (plant or animal) is the deity itself, which has to be worshiped and deserves to be treated better than any human being. A closed structure called *garbha griha* (also sometimes called *sanc-tum sanctorum*, by Western influence) is often built around the deity and only priests and other few persons have access to it; the area where the followers pray and worship their deity is then erected around the *garbha griha*, an area that can be expanded and enriched to suit the needs.

In many cases, when it is deemed that the building around the *garbha griha*, where the followers worship their deity, is too small to be enlarged, too old or too poor, the whole structure is taken down and a new bigger and richer one is built. But the idol – and sometimes even the *garbha griha* – has to remain untouched. In the latter case, the Hindus believe that the temple continues to be that which has always existed in that place and which their ancestors erected centuries before. In extreme cases, even the *garbha griha* can be demolished, according to specific rituals, and the deity that lives there is moved to a different site where a new *garbha griha* and a new temple are built. However, for many Hindus this temple continues to be the ancestral temple of the past centuries, even if it is now erected in a new site, with new materials and new forms¹³¹.

Although Indian Catholics tend to be more influenced by Portuguese/Western values than most Indians with other faiths, they still have a local culture, which in the case of Goa is increasingly permeable to the various influences coming from other parts of India. In this sense, to many Indians a reconstructed Catholic church that replaces an older one is still the church that was founded by their ancestors, despite it may be newly built. The fact that the new church remains in its original location, that it has kept the same name and some of its elements, and that there is no gap in the continuity of worship might reinforce the assumption that the new church is viewed as the ancestral one. While it is true that some churches were demolished and rebuilt with modern materials and according to modern aesthetics, it is significant that some of their old altarpieces have been preserved and incorporated into the new churches. In this particular case, and by analogy with the Hindu temples, this suggests that the conservation of the Catholic altarpiece corresponds to the maintenance of the Hindu idol. Once again, the underlying concept of authenticity is completely different from the Portuguese/Western concept as it is predominantly based on symbolism rather than materialism, aesthetics, antiquity or artistry. This is probably associated with the fact that, although the Catholics were more exposed to Portuguese/Westernising influences, they live in constant contact with other Indian cultures and influences, which they integrate into their way of life.

Indian culture aesthetics

It is therefore not strange that Goan people are increasingly more permeable to other Indian cultural influences, and this is also reflected in Goan Catholic buildings with Portuguese influence. By way of example we can mention the Indo-Portuguese altarpieces that were predominantly monochromatic (gilded woodcarving) in the Portuguese period, according to their taste, although tempered by some characteristics of the local culture. The end of the Portuguese rule greatly mitigated the Lusitanian influence and it was therefore natural that the Indo-Portuguese structures became increasingly “indianised”, as a result of the stronger

cultural influences coming from other arts of India¹⁴. This partly explains why the Indo-Portuguese altarpieces and pulpits are often painted in a variety of colours, instead of the monochromatic gold painting. In the general Goan perspective, the enhancement of the built heritage also involves the creation of an attractive image that helps to engage the followers, and this aspect of monument embellishment includes the lighting of the buildings, which is often composed of multi-coloured fluorescent lights.

We note a specific case: the state of Tamil Nadu has a very characteristic type of Dravidian Hindu temple, where the *shikhara* and the *gopuram* are totally covered with statues of deities and Hindu mythological figures that are usually painted with very bright colours and distributed through an impressive number of levels with proportions that differ from the canonical proportions usually used in the Western world. Unlike in the past, painting all these colourful statues every year after each monsoon is barely conceivable. This might be the reason why, in the last decades, plastic paint has been used to paint these statue-filled temples, as it is both less expensive and more durable (using plastic paint allows painting the temples every few years instead of annually).

This Tamil culture of the southeast of India, which is probably the most fascinating culture because of its multiplicity of colours, sounds, shapes, flavours and other sensations, has spread in recent times to other parts of India, including the territories that have Indo-Portuguese structures. One therefore supposes that the increasingly used practice of painting the Catholic Indo-Portuguese altarpieces with a more varied colour palette corresponds to the application of the Tamil aesthetic of the Hindu temples to the Indo-Portuguese altarpieces, in which the sculpted figures have a stronger aesthetic association with the culture of Southern India that has been spreading throughout the country. In the Indian perspective, the enhancement of the Indo-Portuguese heritage also involves the creation of an attractive image, which has everything to do with several Indian aesthetics – that is, with one of the most widespread Indian aesthetics – in which multiplicity is a synonym of beauty. It is often said that, in many senses, the Western cultures tend to follow a path of clean and simple aesthetics and of favouring proportion and scale, the coherent use of colour and simple volumes, clear sounds, and distinct flavours that are combined in a coherent and pure manner, i.e., “less is more”.

One the other way, it is also frequently said that many Indian aesthetics diverged from this path in the sense that “more is really more”: in general, the meridional temples are a profusion of colours, levels (using a scale that to many Westerners deem disproportionate) and decorative elements; the food is an explosion of flavours with each spoonful; the clothes are often bright and with lots of colours (some appear inharmonious according to the Western aesthetic tastes); the music, even the quieter music, always has background sounds that conceal the purity of a note of a single instrument; actors in Indian movies do not just act, they do a multitude of things like singing, dancing and performing. And it could not be otherwise when India is itself a multiplicity of religions, deities and gods, languages, peoples, traditions, landscapes, cuisines... It therefore comes as no surprise that this aesthetic is applied to monuments and is reflected on the way they are perceived, valued and preserved.

Goan social stratification and its role within the Catholic Church

The majority of the interventions performed on Goan Catholic churches and chapels involve a previous debate the results of which vary between actions of conservation and renovation. Although the final word is that of the Archbishop of Goa and Daman, it is not rare for

the local factory committees to decide what they are going to do and then present the top hierarchical element with the *fait accompli*. This apparent lack of effective communication between the top of the Goan Catholic hierarchy (usually belonging to the Brahmin and Chardo varnas) and the regular parish clergy (which has been extended to the Shudra, Dalits and other Bahujans) exists for other reasons: during the Portuguese rule in Goa only the Brahmins had access to priesthood, although from the 19th century onwards the Chardos also had permission to be priests. It was only after the integration of Goa into India that the remaining lower varnas had access to priesthood. In fact, the continuation of the system of varnas by the Catholic Church was the price to pay for converting the Indian elites to Christianity and have them on the Portuguese side¹⁵. In this sense, we could say (ironically) that to the Catholic Church all people are born equal, except in Goa...

The lower Goan Catholic varnas are less educated, less inspired by the heritage values of “love for the original material”, as opposed to the more educated higher varnas. The preservation of the Past for the lower varnas is not something for which to fight for, because it is a reminder of a past of pain, belittlement and submission that they do not wish to recall – even considering that Christianity brought some equality. The old heritage is also a reminder of this past and, therefore, it is easier for the priests of the lower varnas to demolish old buildings and erect a new church or chapel, as a representation of a new start to their own condition and to have their own mark on the history of the new church or chapel. Teaching in the Goan Catholic seminaries is also increasingly focused on spiritual values and less on heritage issues (deemed material and therefore of less value): the emphasis is placed on prayer and on the conditions for prayer rather than on history or on the value of the house of prayer; people are more important than buildings and it is God who has to be worshiped, not his alleged house¹⁶.

Final notes

There are several issues associated with the safeguarding of the religious heritage in Goa and they are all somehow interrelated and demonstrative of the idiosyncrasies of this type of trans-cultural heritage – in this specific case the Goan Catholic heritage, which is exposed to local, Portuguese and regional Indian cultural influences, a demonstration of the complexity inherent to its safeguard. In fact, what for some is an act of preservation can be for others an act of destruction, depending on the cultural, educational, religious, financial and social perspectives. Although these difficulties in heritage safeguarding have many characteristics that are specific to Goa, they exhibit features that are also found amidst other cultures, including the Western world. In truth, it is difficult to conceive of a single Western culture; the reality is the existence of numerous Western cultures, even within one country. Ideally, heritage preservation should be discussed among all the concerned parties and the different values, needs, conditions of the heritage and interests of those involved should be analysed to reach a consensus that is as wide as possible. For this, a difficult barrier will have to be overcome: that of cultural, ideological, political, religious and economic differences.

NOTES

- 1 This essay was developed within a postdoctoral research project called *Safeguarding of Architectural Heritage with Portuguese Influence in India: Context and Criticism*, funded by a research grant from the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia – FCT) with reference number SFRH/BPD/96087/2013. I also want to thank the Fundação Oriente, namely its delegate in Panjim, Inês Figueira, for hosting me during my fieldwork in Goa. And a final acknowledgment to Amita Kanekar, Vishvesh Kandolkar and Alito Siqueira, for their suggestions.
- 2 For instance, the creation of the GHAG - Goa Heritage Action Group, the works in monuments made by INTACH - Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, the actions taken by the Fundação Oriente, etc.
- 3 I want to thank a number of people who helped me, to a greater or lesser extent, in my research: Vítor Serrão, Rahul Mehrotra, Ashish Rege, Paulo Varela Gomes, Edgar Ribeiro, Eduardo Kol de Carvalho, Inês Figueira, Lourdes Bravo da Costa, Sérgio Mascarenhas, Percival Noronha, Yvonne Rebelo, Teotónio de Souza, Victor Mestre, Abhijit Ambekar, Rohini Pande, Nizamuddin Taher, Ketak Nachinolkar, Fr. Joaquim Loiola, Gerard da Cunha, Fatima Gracias, Tulio de Souza, Arminio Ribeiro, Bruno Souza, Jason Keith Fernandes, Prajal Sakardhande, Fernando Ressano Garcia, Fr. Arlino de Mello, José Sebastião Monteiro, Eurico Santana da Silva, Carlo Santana da Silva, Maria Fernanda Souza, Natasha Fernandes, Fr. Aleixo Menezes, Rafael Viegas, Fr. Michael Fernandes, Fr. Alan Távares, Laurente Costa, Fr. Avinash Rebelo, Fr. Eusico Pereira, Raya Shankoalkar, Bryan Soares, Guilherme Gomes, Alice Santiago Faria, Sidh Mendiratta, José Pestana, Rui Bacelar, Frederick Noronha, Sarto Almeida, Agnelo Fernandes, Bishop Filipe Neri Ferrão, Heta Pandit, Sanjeev Sardesai, Lynn Miranda, Fr. Bismarque Dias, Varad Sabnis, Vasco Pinho and Fr. Ventura Lourenço.
- 4 This impression came after many contacts with local people and researchers, although the misrepresentation must not be generalised to the entire population; but it clearly exists in some extracts.
- 5 See, among others: Parobo, Parag. *India's first Democratic Revolution: Dayanand Bhandarkar and the Rise of the Bahujan in Goa*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2015; Xavier, Ângela Barreto, and Županov, Ines. *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015; Mendes, Sushila. *Luis de Menezes Bragança: Nationalism, Secularism and Free-thought in Portuguese Goa*. Panjim: Directorate of Art and Culture, 2014; Trishur, Raghuraman. *Refiguring Goa: From Trading Post to Tourism Destination*. Saligão: Goa 1556, 2013; Xavier, Ângela Barreto. *A Invenção de Goa: Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII*. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2008.
- 6 Once again, this impression came after several contacts with local people and talks with local scholars.
- 7 It is possible to follow this debate through the reading of newspapers (for instance, in the references below, see the list of links for news in newspaper websites).
- 8 This perception was often referred during interviews made in several Catholic communities.
- 9 On the migration rates related to Goa, several official sources can be consulted, namely: <http://indiapopulation2017.in/population-of-go-2017.html>; <https://pt.scribd.com/doc/85304160/Goa-Migration-Study-2008>.
- 10 It happened several times during the fieldwork interviews.
- 11 On the transformation of Goan Hindu temples or the casteist questions related with them, see the articles of Jason Keith Fernandes, Dale Luis Menezes and, especially, Amita Kanekar, published in several Goan newspapers. These articles can be accessed also in *The Al-Zulaij Collective's* site: <http://alzulaijgoa.com>.
- 12 Something noticed after several visits to various Goan Hindu temples.
- 13 For instance, this is claimed by some believers about a set of Hindu temples in the New Conquests (Goa), often mentioning these temples as having been translated from the Old Conquests.
- 14 On the Indian aesthetics, see for instance: Dehejia, Vidya. *Indian Art*. London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2014; Hussain, Mazhar, and Wilkinson, Robert (ed). *The Pursuit of Comparative Aesthetics: An Interface Between the East and West*. London: Routledge, 2006; Sudhi, Padma. *Aesthetic Theories of India*. New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House, 1997.
- 15 See: Xavier, Ângela Barreto. *A Invenção de Goa: Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII*. Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2008. On the contemporary Goan Catholic context, see also: Henn, Alexander. *Hindu-Catholic Engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism and Modernity*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014; Fernandes, Jason Keith. "Citizenship Experiences of the Goan Catholics" (Ph.D. thesis, ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2013); Perez, Rosa Maria. *O Tulsi e a Cruz*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2012.
- 16 Once again, this assumption came after many contacts with several elements of the Goan clergy hierarchy.

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Image 1 – Church of Saint Francis of Assisi, in Old Goa, during an intervention by the ASI
(source: Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos)



Image 2 – Church of Our Lady of the Poor, in Nuvem, during a religious celebration (source: Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos)



Image 3 – Church of Saint Francis Xavier, in Macasana, during the extension works (source: Joaquim Rodrigues dos Santos)